

## *Certen Discourses, written*

No honorable  
nor worthie  
minded men  
anie wayes in-  
tended to be  
touched in this  
discourse.

ention hath no waies extended by any thing in my  
discourses contained, to touch the reputation or ho-  
nor of any Noblemen, nor Gentlemen of noble or  
worshipfull houses, nor yet any others of worthie  
minds that haue entred into those Low Countrie ser-  
uices, rather to win reputation, knowledge and ho-  
nor, than for any hope or desire of spoyle, or greedie  
gaine, but onelie such of our men of warre, as neglec-  
ting and contemning all true honor & discipline Mi-  
litarie, haue brought in amongst vs a most shamefull  
and detestable arte and discipline of carowling and  
drunkennes, turning all matters Militarie to their  
own profite and gaine, neglecting to loue and to win  
the loue of their soldiers vnder their gouernments &  
charges, making in a manner no accompt of them,  
nor of their liues; in such sort, as by their euill con-  
duction, staruing and consuming great numbers and  
many thousands of our most braue English people, as  
also by their infinite other disorders, they haue made  
a farre greater warre vpon the Crowne and Realme  
of *England* and English Nation, than any waies vpon  
the enemies of our Countrie.

Honor & gloria in excelsis Deo,  
omnipotenti, sempiterno, &  
incomprehensibili.

*Amen.*



## *Certen Discourses, written*

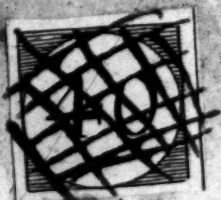
No honorable  
nor worthie  
minded men  
anie wayes in-  
tended to be  
touched in this  
discourse.

ention hath no waies extended by any thing in my  
discourses contained, to touch the reputation or ho-  
nor of any Noblemen, nor Gentlemen of noble or  
worshipfull houses, nor yet any others of worthie  
minds that haue entred into those Low Countrie ser-  
uices, rather to win reputation, knowledge and ho-  
nor, than for any hope or desire of spoyle, or greedie  
gaine, but onelie such of our men of warre, as neglec-  
ting and contemning all true honor & discipline Mi-  
litarie, haue brought in amongst vs a most shamefull  
and detestable arte and discipline of carowling and  
drunkennes, turning all matters Militarie to their  
own profite and gaine, neglecting to loue and to win  
the loue of their soldiers vnder their gouernments &  
charges, making in a manner no accompt of them,  
nor of their liues; in such sort, as by their euill con-  
duction, staruing and consuming great numbers and  
many thousands of our most braue English people, as  
also by their infinite other disorders, they haue made  
a farre greater warre vpon the Crowne and Realme  
of *England* and English Nation, than any waies vpon  
the enemies of our Countrie.

Honor & gloria in excelsis Deo,  
omnipotenti, sempiterno, &  
incomprehensibili.

*Amen.*





# A Briefe discourse of Warre.



Written by Sir Roger Williams  
*Knight; With his opinion concer-*  
ning some parts of the  
Martiall Disci-  
pline.



*Imprinted at London, by Thomas Orwin,*  
dwelling in Paternoster Row, ouer a-  
gainst the Signe of the Checker.

1590.



Printed and sold by

W. J. Williams

Printed by the Rev. J. Williams

Printed by the Rev. J. Williams

Printed by the Rev. J. Williams

Printed by the Rev. J. Williams

Printed by the Rev. J. Williams

Printed by the Rev. J. Williams

Printed by the Rev. J. Williams

Printed by the Rev. J. Williams

Printed by the Rev. J. Williams

Printed by the Rev. J. Williams

Printed by the Rev. J. Williams

Printed by the Rev. J. Williams

Printed by the Rev. J. Williams

Printed by the Rev. J. Williams

Printed by the Rev. J. Williams

Printed by the Rev. J. Williams

Printed by the Rev. J. Williams

Printed by the Rev. J. Williams

Printed by the Rev. J. Williams

Printed by the Rev. J. Williams





TO THE MOST HONORABLE, my singular and best Lord,

*Robert Earle of Essex and Ewe, Viscount*

*Hereford and Bourghchier, Lord Ferrers*

*of Chartley, Bourghchier and Louayne,*

Master of the Queenes Maieslies horse,

and Knight of the most noble

Order of the Garter:

Roger Williams wisheth increase of all

Honor and Vertue.

**M**ost honorable Lord, ha-  
uing busied my self more  
than two yeares in wri-  
ting fundrie actions that  
passed in our daies, espe-  
ciallie the great actions  
of the Netherlanders since the first arriual  
of Duke *D'alua*, vntill the late sieges of  
*Sluce* and *Bergis*, hauing resolved to print  
and dedicate them vnto your Lordship: di-  
uers occasions perswades me to craue par-  
don for a time; assuring your Lordship, if  
health and libertie permits leaue to pre-



*The Epistle Dedicatorie.*

sent them vnto your selfe in the French tongue : hoping by those meanes to bee rightlier indged, than I haue been hether-vnto. Introth, but for the negligence of a seruant that lost part of my discourses, I would not haue printed any thing without the whole; wherefore I haue taken boldnes to present your Lordship with some of my lost papers, humblie desiring you to accept them as from a Souldier that hath but small skill in writing or inditing; but could I doo better, assuredlie it should bee vnto your selfe, and shall bee in any thing I can performe. Beare with my faults, be assured of my loue, and command my life, next vnto my sacred Soueraigne & deare Countrie.

Your Lordships most bounden to serue:

*Roger Williams.*





## To all men of warre in generall.



Oble Souldiers of what qualitie soeuer, where I discourse of the vertues and vices that aduanceth and ouerthroweth all actions, all that hath their honor to lose may claime part of the vertues, neither needs any to be griened at the vices vnlesse they condemne themselves guiltie; the greatest Captaines of Europe can witnesse, that I robbed neither superiour nor companion of his right, much lesse hath been euer my thoughts to wrong any generall action: the which all or the most of you that knowe me will beare witnesse, when my Netherlanders discourses with others, comes out. I thinke Gonsalua was called the last graund Captaine, but I perswade my selfe neither he nor any other before him had neuer carried that name without the seconding of a number of braue companions. The most worthiest Cæsar although he was highlie ambitious, notwithstanding in his Commentaries written by himselfe, hee imputed part of his honor vnto his Lieftenants and Officers. Wherefore should not others doo at the least the like, being not wor-thie to bee compared vnto the basest sorte of his followers: no honorable mindes can bee free from honorable ambition, but the ambition may be such let the minde be euer so great, if he robbs the honor of his companions, he wrongs himselfe and im-bates his action. Fewe men of iudgment but knowes it impossible for one man to conduct an Armie without Officers, & vnpossible for any state to knowe the worth of their Captaines without being in action with great enemies: but for that triall



## To the Reader.

the Parisians, Gauntois, Antwerpians and such, would on-  
lie place squadrons in battailes, chuse grounds, march in what  
order you would, arme men in good order, fortifie & discourse,  
with other matters, to the shew, as though they had been great  
masters of Campes : but when they were tried with the furie  
of expert executioners, their warres prooked but May-games.  
Although I perswade my selfe my discourse to bee unpleasant  
with small iudgement : notwithstanding, being perswaded  
with honorable good friends, I tooke courage to print it : true  
it is, no action ought to be printed without the consent of sun-  
drie Actors, or at the least by one principall, which ought to  
signe his workes with his name, otherwise wee finde the most  
Actors wronged and robbed of the most of their reputation;  
some with ennie or malice, others with glorious ambition:  
sometimes you haue most honorable quiet estates wronged  
with ambitious follies, libells, the which are hardlie knowne  
and found out : but being signed by the author, deserves he  
well, the honor is his ; if ill, the shame shall be his. Men of  
warre ought to be more open hearted, more liberall, and more  
affable, than any other profession, although their secrets ought  
to be but vnto fewe, their hearts must be open vnto the mul-  
titude, and liberall to confesse good deserts as well as with their  
purses, although their resolutions be agreed on by two or three,  
notwithstanding the more affable they shewe themselves vnto  
the multitude, the greater will be their voges and loucs. Some  
tearme men wise for not speaking many words : true it is, idle  
speaches are windes and a disgrace vnto the speaker ; but bee  
they to good purpose, the more he speakes, the greater is his  
praise. You must thinke to repeate great actions, it requires  
many words, to perswade the fewe expert companions, to offend  
or defend a fewe words will serue : but to animate or dissuade  
the rude multitude, the more words and the oftner the better.  
We doo finde the most Conquerours were greatlie aduanced  
with the orations of their Orators, as well amongst the serui-  
lest sort as the rude multitude : without speaches, the wise can  
not be discerned from the foolish, nor without triall of govern-  
ment



## To the Reader.

ment against equall enemies, the perfects Captaine cannot bee knowne from the most ignorant. Otherwise ignorance will condemne Generalls, their followers and actions let them bee euer so great, although themselves neuer carried places of reputation either in field or towne, nor commanded more than ouer their owne seruants, saying wee haue knowne great Potentates Campes, and Courts. Let no man be so simple to iudge them worthie to condemne great actions or their actors, without being imployed in their great affaires, it is hard for men to gouerne themselves well, harder to gouerne a few; more harder to gouerne many, much more a great multitude; some can gouerne a household, and cannot gouerne a towne; some can gouerne a towne, and not a whole countrie. A man may be sufficient to conduct a priuate companie, and not sufficient to commaund a Regiment; likewise sufficient for a Colonell, & not for a Generall. But whether it be for policie or Armes, it is an error to thinke men without triall worthie to bee compared vnto the others tried, in what place soeuer great or smal. Diuers play Alexander on the stages, but fewe or none in the field. Our pleasant Tarleton would counterfeite many artes, but he was no bodie out of his mirths. Many hath a vertue, fewe hath many, none haue all: the most men lookes into their fellowes faults, but fewe lookes into their owne; beare with mine, I will beare with thine; loue me, I will loue thee; let vs loue each other, and God will loue vs all: on that condition noble superiours, Roger Williams wisheth to you all honour and happines, and to you companions, no worse than to himselfe. Farewell.

FINIS.







**E**Xperience and Learning must  
confesse, all VVarres are maintained  
with these three Principalls.

*A good Chiefe;*

*A good Purse;*

*And good Justice.*



**A**L L consists in the Chiefe :  
where there is a good Chiefe,  
there is good Iustice ; and a  
braue Chiefe can not want a  
good Purse, if hee bee second  
with his Prince or Estate : if  
their purse faile, a braue Chief  
will force his Enemies Coun-  
treies to maintaine his action, hauing a good quar-  
rell ; with the sufferance of the great God.

Is he resolute and valiant ? All the rest of his Of-  
ficers and Souldiers will resolute themselves, no cow-  
ard shall be aduanced ; taking alwaies care vnto their  
words and deedes : assuring themselves, this resolute  
valiant Man will aduance vs, doo we deserue it : doo  
we ill, his Honor is such, he will not abide vs.

Is he liberall and constant : Then are all that serue  
vnder him sure to receiue their due, rather more than



lesse that come into his hands, & assured to be recompenced for their vigilant paines and trauell, and to be partakers aswell with his honorable acts, as with his liberal Purse: neither backbiter nor flatterer dares call in question the name of a braue man, much lesse none of his familiar acquaintance. If they shuld, then is the other sure to come to his aunswere, and not bee condemned without great faults; as noble Sir *Philip Sidney* was wont to say, *Let vs loue him for his small vertues, for a number haue none at all.*

Is he couetous & miserable? He careth not what wrong he doth to recouer wealth, cause men to end their dayes in euerie light skirmish, wearie others with wants and discourtesies, keepe the Officers of his Armie in pickes and quarrels, cause them to disgrace one another, lay al the fault on his fellowes, spare neither friend nor foe to recouer wealth; it is vnpossible for such a Chiefe to end any action honorable: for he respects the least of his bagges, more than his best Captaine; and values his crownes too good for his brauest Souldiers. A multitude are not to be contented, without consuming great treasure; the sight of his gold, & departing with his treasure wil cause him to wish all his troupes dead to recouer their dues. In short time he will discredit his Estate and action.

Is he ambitious, in such sort that he thinkes none to be valued vnto himself, & that al seruices are done by himself; resolving none shalbe aduanced, but such as flatter his humors, enuying all other mens fortune, and vertues? That man careth not what becomes of his State and Action, longer than they maintaine his ambition, against all others, be it right or wrong.



Is he proud and vaine glorious? Al those that serue vnder him, must flatter his favorites to come vnto his speech; when they come, there must be nothing contraried; if they doo, he will tearme them fooles, and his fanorits deuise faults to condemne them, to please his humors, and to maintaine his *Gloria Patri*.

It is almost vnpossible for anie one to haue al these vertues; or for anie to be free from all these vices. To say troth, Ambition is giuen to men of warre, more than to anie other profession: but let him be assured, whosoever hath it as I speake off, ouerthroweth anie action, vnles the great God will haue the contrarie.

Somethinke it hard to know these men, because euery man thinketh himselfe valiant and vertuous, or at the least say honest & iust. Their valure must bee iudged by their decds, not by their words; the rest of their vertues are easier knowen, than theeues in a ciuill gouernment. Theeues are tried by God and their countrie; so ought these great Captaines to be tried by the multitude that serues vnder them; especiallie by their Officers in generall. Their feare cannot stop the rumor of the multitude, nor their bribes content few or none of the Officers, but such as respect neither honour nor vertue, and care not how they come by their fauor and welth, so they haue it.

Dutie, honor & welth, makes men follow the wars: when Generalls rob their inferiors of all three, often it makes honest mindes quit their seruice, & the dishonest to serue their Enemies. None knowes the woorth of honest Souldiers, but such as haue been in action with equal Enemies. Those that are most furnished with experimented Captaines, shall finde it a



4

losse to lose few; but those that haue but few, shal find it a greater losse to loose anie at all :

*How that all Conquests and Ouerthrowes consists in expert Souldiers, and euer did since the world began vnto this hower.*

**S**ome thinkes Commissions & authoritie is sufficient to conduct an Armie, and that Conquests and Ouerthrowes consist in multitude : let the Commissions be euer so large, the authoritie euer so great, the multitude euer so manie ; the VVarres consists altogether in good Chiefs, & experimented Souldiers, & euer did since the world began to this houre. What caused *Alexander* to ouerthrow *Darius* with few men, considering his number ? but his valourous person, with the experience of his Captaines & Souldiers. What caused *Cæsar* to ouerthrow *Pompey*, Roman to Roman, with farre lesser number ? because he had olde trained Legions, against more than halfe new leuied rawe men.

Our famous Kings *Henrie* the fift and *Edward* the third, gaue their Ouerthrowes with few, in respect of their Enemies.

Also *Charles* the fift with a few experimented Souldiers considering the number of the *Germanes*.

*How often few or one is the occasion of the winning or loosing of a battaile.*

**I**N our time, did not the Prince of *Conde* giue battel to the French King at the gates of *Paris*, to the Kings losse, to the honor of the small Troupe, being



ing not halfe a quarter so manie; where *Stewart* a Scottish Gentleman with a dozen Horsmen was one of the principallest occasions, by killing the Constable being their Generall.

At the Battaile of *Mocberhay*, where the worthie Count *Lodowicke* of *Nassau* was ouerthrowne and killed; the Troupes of Spaniards being fearefull to fight, seeing the number of *Lodowickes* Horsmen, were onlie encouraged to charge resolutelic, by the Oration of *Sentia de vela*.

The shamefull Ouertthrow at *Iubeleo*, where lesse than 600. Horsmen of *Don Iohn de Austria*, ouerthrew 15000. against reason, onelic for want of Chieftes to keepe order. The occasion of this charge came through a Captaine of Horsmen, which discovered their disorder of March, and procured the rest to followe, desiring leaue of *Octavia Gonzaga* his Generall, to charge.

At *Northorne* in *Freezeland*, two or three cowardlic captaines were the cause of the ouertthrow of our Battaile with discouraging words, the Enemies horsmen and vangard being broken.

The mutenous *Gauntoys* & *Iper*, did they not giue battaile in our fathers daies vnto a French King, and their Earle of *Flanders*: and did not this Prince of *Parma* with lesse than 8000. men conquer them like slaues? onelic because they were void of Chieftes, vnexpert for warres, their braue warlike mindes changed vnto mechanickes.

Also the proud Towne of *Antwerpe*, which was left in good guard and discipline by the late famous Prince of *Orange* hauing in it better than 16000. as



well armed and in as good order as anie Garrison in *Europe*, furnished plentifully with artillerie, munition, and all necessaries for warres; for want of Chieftes to direct them, this Prince of *Parma* made them slaves, with lesse than 8000. men.

*The difference betwixt rawe men, and expert Souldiers.*

**V**What is a multitude without Chieftes, but bodies without heads. Nations must not flatter themselves what they haue beene, but what they are. The *Grecians*, & the *Macedonians* had the Monarchie, so had the *Romaines*, with others; what are they now? the people wanting their Chieftes, and their accustomed braue mindes. All these actions with the rest that haue been aforetime or in our daies, were executed by the lesser numbers; and the praise of euerie seuerall action, belonging vnto lesse than a dozen Chieftes. It is an errour to thinke that experimented Souldiers are suddenly made like glasses, in blowing them with a puffe out of an iron instrument. There can be no Leaders of good conduct, vnles they haue been in foughten Battailles, assailed and defended Townes of warre; the longer experted, the more perfected. The Duke of *Alua* was wont to say; In lesing of 100000 in 10. yeares action, there prooues not 20. famous Leaders. To conclude; a multitude without experimented Leaders, that haue to warre with expert Captaines, are to bee compared vnto a Nauie in a Tempest, without Masters or Pilots.



One noble opinion of Mounſieur de La  
Nowe.

**T**He famous Mounſieur de La Nowe was wont to ſay, It was neceſſary for the greateſt Commanders, to giue eare often vnto all their vnder officers, I meane their ſimpleſt Captaines, to heare their opinions, concerning their diſcipline in open audience. His meaning was noble without ambition: for in all Armies, there are a number of Captaines better Souldiers, than manie higher Officers; which can neuer be knowne without place to execute their art: which muſt be in action and audience before famous Superiours. Theſe liberties & curteſies make a number employ their wits and valours daily to aduance their credites. It hinders no great Officers, vnleſſe they meane the warres ſhould end with themſelues; it aduanceth the Warres, and Actions, when they are gone, other experted knowne men are placed in their roomes. This order muſt maintain good diſcipline, otherwiſe ignorance happens often into the high places, vnknowne, vnill actions bee ouerthrowen. Thoſe will ſay, wee are expert and as valiant as the others; let them ſay and bee what they liſt, vnles they be knowne to be expert of action, it is not neceſſarie for a State to hazard their action in trying their experience, and vnknowne fortunes. What corrupted the diſcipline of Netherlanders? chieflie placing their ignorant couſins and favorites to command. Who could haue won *Gant*, *Antwerp*, *Bridges*, *Iper*, with an 100. other towns, that wanted no neceſſaries for warres, if there had been expert Commanders in them.

Theſe



These strong places were lost shamefullie without blowes, with twentie ouerthrowes in the field, with the like disorders. Therefore this noble *La Noue* would say alwaies, *Checune a son mety*; as much to say, Euerie man ought to haue place according to his art. The martiall *Byron* would say also, These Coronells of three dayes, marres all the Armies of the world. Notwithstanding, it must be confest, that some quick spirites proue to bee expert with small actions: but so rarelie found, that it is dangerous to giue them charge before they be well knowne.

What makes the Spaniards discipline to be so famous as it is? their good order: otherwise it is well knowne, the Nation is the basest and cowardlie sort of people of most others; so base, that I perswade my selfe, ten thousand of our Nation, would beate thirtie of theirs out of the field, let them be chosen where they list; sauing some three thousand which is in the Lowe Countries. And those, for all they bee conducted by ancient expert Captaines, accompanied with other Nations, nothing inferiour to those Spaniards, both for valour and conduct; notwithstanding, the trained Troupes of our Nation did beate them alwaies number to number, both in Generall *Norris* his time, & sithence. In their Countreyes the world dooth knowe five thousand of our Nation made guards at the gates of *Lisborne* foure dayes, although there were in the Towne five thousand Spaniards, foure thousand Portugeses carrying armes, besides they were assured of all the Burgeses, for they had sent into *Spaine*, & kept in the Cytadell, their wiues, children, and chiefest goods. Also by reason of our  
Armie,



Armie staying in *Galitia*, where 6000. of ours overthrew 16000. of theirs. Before we arriued at *Lisborn*, they had 20. daies respit to arme and put themselves in order; but had our Armie not touched at the *Groin*, & sailed streight to *Lisborne*, as the Earle of *Effex* did, neither Soldier nor Captain can deny, but the towne had been ours; for it was vnmanned, without anie good order: & when we arriued, had our Nauie entred, we would haue entred the Towne, or the world should haue witnessed, so manie Englishmen had bin buried in that place. But let all the Captaines of *Europe* iudge rightlie of our proceedings from the first to the last, considering our smal meanes & great crosses, they cannot denie, but both our valor & gouernment, deserued an 100. times more praise, than the attempt of Duke *Medina*, and his on *England*: notwithstanding they wanted neither men, victuals, munition, nor money. Also the world knowes, we were not set out with our Souereignes royal Forces; notwithstanding we gaue them the law 30. daies in their Countries. When sicknesse with other wants forced vs to imbarke, being followed with their Armie, wee returned towards them with lesse than 4000. Where the Earle of *Effex* sent his Trumpet, to dare their Generall the Countie of *Fuentes*, to find himselfe in the head of his troupes, to change the blowes of the pikes, giuing him signall of his attire and feathers: so did Generall *Norris* command the Trumpet to tell them our small number, and to dare their whole Forces to battaile: but the cowardlie besonions perceiuing our resolution, before we could arriue within 3. miles of them, all their footmen ran away to *Lisborne*, being 3.



for one. *Fuentes* with *Don Gabriel de Nini*s knowing we had vnder fiftie horsmen, staid where they were incamped, hauing with them at the least 600. horsmen: notwithstanding, the alarme beeing giuen vs, the Earle, and Generall *Norris*, with the most of the Chieffes, giuing order to our Squadrons to keepe in that order we marched, and to march with all speede to recouer the top of a hill, a fine place to giue battell, assigned vnto them by the Trumpet, within halfe a league of their quarter. The Earle, General, & Chieffes with the horsmen, aduanced with speed to the top of the hill, both to discover the Enemies order, and to choose a commodious place to fight. At their sight, wee perswaded our selues by their fashion to receiue battaile, our ensignes being displaied on the top of the hil, and our squadrons possessing the ground that we thought most fit: after resting a while, and perceiuing their cowardlie resolution, aduanced our battaile towards their quarter, vnknowne to vs but that al their Forces had been in that village. At our approach, they ran away in such sort, that our horsmen (being but 50 in al, amongst whom were diuers of our Chieffes, besides the Earle and his brother) made two hundred of them runne awaye that they kept in the Reregard. This proote with diuers others, had wee on them in our *Portingall* voyage.

But to speake troth, no Armie that euer I saw, passes that of Duke *de Parma* for discipline & good order: the which & it pleased others to follow, it were not amisse. And to that ende I thought good to show some part of the discipline and orders amongst them. None comesto be high Officers, vnles they be kno-

wen to bee expert and tried Souldiers of action, of long continuance; or for courtesie to grace their Armies with young Princes, or Nobilitie, or at the least Gentlemen of good qualitie; neither must these contemne the basest Master of their Campe. For all their birth, they must be knowne valiant, and of good discretion. These Noble men are placed Generalls of horsemen, or commaund a Cornet; but they will bee sure to looke, that their vnder Officers shall be expert and knowne men; they shall not choose their owne fauorites & followers: which maketh them to maintain the like discipline, when they come to be expert themselves: for without doubt, none can command so well, as those which haue been commanded.

Their State is gouerned with two sorts of people, Captaine and Clergie. As the Captaines ambition perswades the King to encrease his warres, to maintaine their estate in wealth and greatnes, so doth the Clergie perswade him also to warres, to maintein their State, against them of Religion. By this meanes the State of *Spaine* during this gouernment can neuer be without warres, and continuall warres must make expert Souldiers.

*The long continuance of their  
Armie.*

**T**His Armie of the Prince of *Parma* hath beene in action vnbroken, since *Charles* the fift his troubles against the *Germanes*. They haue continued in the *Lowe Countreyes* three and twentie yeares.



When the Duke *D'alua* brought them thether, hee found them readie disciplined in Regiments, vnder Ensignes & Cornets, although the Gouvernors, Captaines and Soldiers, were changed with casualties of warres: notwithstanding the Armie was continually maintained with one purse & discipline from the first houre vnto this, which must be about 50. yeares. For that time, wee must confesse, none had the schole of warres continually, but themselves. Their actions shewes their discipline, which were not amisse for others to followe. Their order is, where the Warres are present, to supplie their Regiments being in Action, with the Garrisons out of all his Dominions and Prouinces: before they dislodge, *besonios* supply their places, raw men, as we rearme them. By these meanes he traines his *besonios*, and furnisheth his Armie with trained Souldiers: yet though these Garrison men be well trained Soldiers, God knowes they are but raw men for a long time, in respect of the men of Action: then iudge you, what difference there is betwixt expert Souldiers and raw. In my poore iudgement, (as I shewed before) all their discipline consists in the Spanish. They maintaine also certaine companies of ordinances, chieflie to content the Nobilitie, as I will shew hereafter; they keep in good order their *Caualleri*, *Italians*, *Burgonians* and *Albanetes*, for their great numbers I meane, to supplie their Armies, as occasion presents. They make most account of the *Wallons*, *Burgonians* & *Italians*: for the *Almaines* they care not, but will hire them onelie to serue their turne, when their Enemies leaue *Germanes* against them. They haue great reason; for as long as any Prince or Estate

keepes

keepe continuallie 7000. expert footmen, and 3000. horsmen, though his leuied Armie be 50000. the ten thousand will both discipline them, & keepe them in order: for out of the 10000. he may draw continuallie a 100. or two experimented Souldiers to make Officers, to traine the others. Besides hee places diuers great Officers out of his assured 10000. amongst his mercenaries; in the which he shewes great disciplines for there can bee no daungerous mutenie in anie Armie, vnles some of the Chiefes be priuie vnto it; and easilie preuented if it be discouered; & cannot be but discouered by reason of this good order.

*How they diuide their Armies.*

**T**hey diuide their Armies into Regiments. All the Spanish Colonells are tearmed, Masters of the Campe. Although all their Armie be diuided into Regiments, be they neuer so many colonels, there are none tearmed *M. del Campo*, but the Spanish. Although there are but foure *Tertias* Spanish, which are called *de la Lyge*, *de Lumbardy*, *de Naples*, & *de Flandrie*; to grace the Spanish, they giue often the name of *M. del Campo* vnto others, but neuer aboue fixe at a time, the which must bee famous. *Mondragon* being Colonell of the *Wallons* afore *Serexe*, for his famous seruice was called *M. del Campo*, so was *Ionas Oria*, hauing no Regiment, for his famous seruice at *Malta* and in other places.

These foure *Tertias*, when they are most, are scarce 6000. strong, they make vp their 10000. I named before with *Burgonians*, *Italians* & *Wallons*. One of these



*Tertias*, when the Duke of *Alua* came downe, was called *Tertia de Sardinia*. For their disorder, the Duke executed their Captaines in *Amsterdam*, in *Holland*, calsid the *Tertia*, entertaining the Souldiers a newe. To keepe the honour of the braue Souldiers, they termed this *Tertia*, *Tertia Veche*, to giue example vn-to others. It is necessarie to remember this discipline, with other, executed by the Duke of *Alua*. This *Tertia* of *Sardinia* had to their Colonell a valiant Captaine, named *Don Gonsalo de Drakemont*, beeing commanded to *Frizeland*, against *Lodowicke* the wor-thie Count of *Nassaw*, brother to the famous Prince of *Orange*: to stop his course, Duke d' *Alua* sent Sir *Iohn de Lamy* Count de *Aranberge* Chief, with other troupes of horse and foote. Besides this *Tertia* being approached, Count *Lodowicke* vnderstanding his strength, *Aranberge* would haue staied where hee was, vntill the arriual of the Count de *Megem*, the which would haue ioyned with him that night with more forces. The ambition of this Colonell and Captaines was such, they forced Count *Aranberge* with vrging words touching his reputation and cre-dite, both to approach and charge some of *Lodowicks* troupes, the which brought them into an Ambush where *Lodowicke* was: who defeated them in route, leauing Count de *Aranberge* dead in the place, with diuers other Chiefes. At their returne, Duke d' *Alua* rewarded them, as I shewed you before.

Another time a great Regiment of *Almaine* mu-tined for want of pay: in their outrage they spoyled Count *Laderne*, their owne Colonell. Duke d' *Alua* called them into a field, both to be mustred and to re-  
ceiue



ceiue their payes, Into this place he commanded also all his Cavalerie with other footmen to come. The mutinous Regiment being viewed with Commissaries, he placed the hofemen in Squadrons round about them, commanding them to charge them like enemies, vnles they would deliuer the mutiners into his hands. The poore *Almaines* seeing themselves deceiued, fearing the furie of the hofemen, deliuered vnto him all that hee demaunded. To reuenge their mutinie, and to maintaine discipline, he executed of them 200. Since that time wee cannot learne that the *Almaines* mutined in the *Spanish* Armie.

*Their great Officers in order as they command.*

**I**N the abfence of the Captaine Generall, the high Marshal or master of the Campe general commandeth all. After him, the Generall of the hofemen: after him, the Generall of the Artillarie : after him, the eldest Master of the Campe : next vnto the Masters *del Campo*, the Lieftenant generall of the hofemen: after him, the Lieftenant of the Artillarie. These Officers direct the field : for the rest of the Colonells and Officers, none meddle further than his owne particular charge, vnlesse they bee anthorised. Although the Threasurer at warres bee an honorable place commanded by no bodie, but by the Captaine generall, hee nor none of the others meddle with the Martiall discipline; I meane the Auditories, Comissaries, Muster masters, & fuch. Touching the charge and dueties of the Captaine Generall, and the other great Captaines, I referre it vnto the famous warriors which wrote it often before.

*what*



*What other Officers ought to second their  
great Officers.*

**T**He office of the Marshall, is painfull and great, for he medleth with the whole affaires of the warres; he hath to serue and to helpe him, the Serieant maior, Quarter masters, Prouosts, & Capitaine of the Spions.

The General of the horsmen hath to serue him, his Lieftenant, Colonels, Captaines, and Scoutmasters.

The Generall of the Artillerie, his Lieftenant, Commissaries of munitions, Gentlemen of the Artillerie, Colonell of Pioners, Trench-masters, and Carriage-masters.

The Treasurer is chiefe of all the others: hee, the Auditor, Muster-masters, Commissaries aswell for musters, as for victualls, deliuer their accounts onelic vnto the Capitaine generall, or to his Deputie authorised by him for the vse of the King. There is also one Secretarie authorised by the King, who lookes into all their dealings, and knowes all the secret onlie that passeth betwixt the King & the Captain generall.

This Secretarie hath alwaies diuers blankes signed by the King. With those blanks they haue redressed sodainlie many disorders which could not haue bin done, if they had been forced to stay to knowe the Kings pleasure.

*The greatnes of their Generall, and Obeysance  
vnto his King.*

**A**Lthough the General hath his commission absolute from the King, to alter, to redresse place, & to  
displace



displace whome hee lists, as occasion preuents: Notwithstanding he doth nothing, without the aduise & consent of his counsaile of warre, if hee should, he is sure to be despised and contemned, not onely by his counsaile of warre, but by his whole Armie in generall; who will not faile to appeale vnto the King, and Estate of *Spaine*, which redresseth presentlie anie disorders. For sodain dispatches, the King hath his counsaile of warre seuerallie for euerie of his Kingdomes and Prouinces, where he hath occasion to vse Vice-royes or Captaine Generalls. All these Counsailes of warres both in *Spaine* and abroad, are expert & principall Captaines, sauing a few Diuines and Ciuilians ioyned with them, to aduise and redresse their high mindes and ambition; the which is done easier and better by wise perswasions, than by extreame iustice: for if iustice were executed to the vttermost, fewe great Captains should liue. The most great Captaines cannot denie, but their profession ouer-reacheth themselves, more than any other, because al their speeches, deedes, and mindes consists in ambition for honour, seeking to ouerthrow al estates, to aduance their own, weighing no perill in respect of fame.

I speake this for Captaines in generall: but there are honest, vertuous, & iust, yet so few that the number must bee imbraced, els the multitude of the enemies would bee too to manie for the fewe friends. If a Captaine be a good counsellor in warre, a good executioner, or a good engioner, he ought to be imbraced, and as noble Sir *Philip Sidney* said, borne withall, vnlesse his faults are too intollerable.



*How they diuide their Horſemen.*

**T**Hey diuide their Caualerie into an 100. vnder a Cornet. Vnles it be their two Generalls, the moſt of the aduantage and aduenturers march vnder the high Generall, ſo doo all his domeſtiques. When he is in perſon in the field, his Cornet is alwaies foure or five hundred; they giue ſeueral commiſſions vnto Launtiers, and to the Hargulaters, to five hundred Launtiers they ioine 100. Hargulaters, they keepe that rate from the leſſer number vnto the greateſt. Theſe Launtiers are called light horſemen, notwithstanding they are aſwel mounted as the men at armes for one horſe a peece, and aſwell armed, ſauing the barbd for their greues and maces: the moſt carrie one piſtoll, but al carrie a curtilace, I meane a good broad ſword. Their Hargulaters are alſo well mounted for 1. horſe a peece, more than half curaces of the prooffe; with an open burgonet, or *Millaine* murrions; manie haue piſtols beſides their peeces, but al haue good curtilaces. Both Launtiers and Hargulaters haue all caſſockes, euerie Companie ſeueral colours to bee knowne.

*The diuiſions of their foote Bands.*

**T**Heir commiſſions for foote Bands are like vnto ours, ſome Enſignes 300. ſome 200. the moſt of an 150. Every hundred hath fortie armed men, of which there muſt be thirtie pikes, the 10. others, are halberds and targets of the prooffe; al their Gentlemen & vantage



tagers are armed men, the most carrie the pike, ha-  
 uing plasterons of the prooffe, I mean the fore part of  
 the armour, the 60. others are shot. In the latter daies  
 of Duke *D'alua* 25. of euerie hundred, were commā-  
 ded to bee Muskettters. With their armed pikes and  
 muskettters, they execute most of their seruices. They  
 found such seruice in the musket, that this Prince of  
*Parma* hath the most of his shot muskettters.

*The order of their marching.*

**W**Hen the Armie marcheth, one commaunds  
 the vangard, another the battaile, the third  
 the rereward. None of these, nor of the Of-  
 ficers appoynted with them, whatsoeuer occasiō pre-  
 senteth, although their fellowes were in fight, dares  
 break out of his place to offer to fight, without com-  
 mandement from the Principall. If the Generall bee  
 in person, he is knowne by a signall, like vnto a Cor-  
 net, which is carried hard by him. As he sends often  
 to know the State of his Armie in all the quarters, so  
 doo they send others vnto him, as occasion presents,  
 both to acquaint him of their Estate, & to knowe his  
 direction. To giue equal honor vnto al their troupes,  
 they alter their marches euerie seuerall march. Hee  
 that had the vangard to day, to morow is to haue the  
 rereward, the third the battaile. When occasion pre-  
 sents to diuide their Armie into seuerall parts to doo  
 some employtes in surprising some Towne, Castle,  
 Fortresse, or other to giue camifadoes, or reincoun-  
 ter troupes, either at their lodgings, or in their march,  
 they send two of qualitie, according to the number



of the Troupes that go, the one commands the horsemen, the other the footmen; but one is obeyed chiefe, in as ample authoritie, as the Captaine generall himselfe, vntill they returne into their Armie. They haue great reason; for it is impossible for two Chiefes to agree, hauing equall authoritie.

*The order of their Sieges.*

**W**Hen they assiege any place, they incampe at the first out of the danger of the enemies Artillerie : before they make any approaches, they do what they can to make sure either with Forts or Trenches all the passages, I meane the coming in aswell to their Campe, as to the Towne or place assieged. If there be any riuer or passage by water, they will bee sure to stop it with Forts, Artillerie, Stockathos, Pallisathos. If they can make a bridge to passe ouer horse and foote, with all necessaries from one side vnto the other : if they can they will not faile to make waies round about the place assieged to march with horse and foote. If there be any passages strong by nature, streights through woods, hills, or with waters, although it bee a dozen miles from their Campe, they will build strong Forts, sufficient with a small guard to abide the furie of an Armie without batterie, At one of these places will they giue battaile, rather than leaue their siege, if the partie be to their aduantage: by this means they will be sure to haue fortie houres libertie to resolute, whether they will fight or retire ; as they did at *Muncier*, at *Cambria*, and at other places. Count *Lodowicke* being  
in



in *Mounce*, well accompanied, especiallie with good Chiefes; for he had with him the famous Captaines *Mounfier de la Nowe*, *Mounfier de Poiet*, *Mounfier de Roucres*: Notwithstanding, Duke d' *Alua* intrenched his Armie before it so stronglie, that he was able to send out halfe his men to do exploytes where it pleased him. When the Prince of *Orange* incamped hard by him with equall forces, he neuer stirred his Armie, by reason of his trained Souldiers, vndid him with a Camisado, forced him to retire. So did he also send *Chappine Vitelly* out of his Armie, with sufficient forces into the streight towards *Valentia*, who defeated *Mounfier Iohn de Lise*, which marched to the succours of *Mounce* with 7000. Frenchmen. Also at *Cambria* this Prince of *Parma* abided the Armie of *Mounfier de Lanfon* to come in fight, although he resolved to retire, sending his Artillerie, munition and baggage out of danger: he staied to see the order of his march, seeing the partie vnequall who marched in good order, he retired orderlie without ingageing any fight. If they thinke the place assieged too well manned, or the seate such by nature, that batterie can doo no good, they will blocke it vp with Fortes in such sort, that halfe their Armie will be sufficient to assiege it, they will be sure to place the rest in the best quarters for victualls and forage, although it be three daies iourney from the place assieged: as they did at *Antwerpe*, *Gaunt*, *Iper*, *Berke*, & other places. By these meanes they relieue their wearied troupes with fresh at their pleasures. If there be troupes making head to leaue their siege, they will ioine closer together, as occasions present: if they batter, they approach care-



fullie with trenches a farre off, spare neither Pioners nor cost to saue their Soldiers. Before they place their Batterie, they mount Culuerings, and other peeces to beate the flankes and defences: if there bee not high grounds aduauntingous to doo it, they will bee sure whatsoeuer it cost, to raise mounts for the purpose. If the Bulwarkes be such that the flankes cannot bee taken away with their peeces, they will lay batterie at once both to Bulwarke and Curten; for the Soldiers may lawfullie refuse to assault, vntill the flankes be taken away: neither will the Chiefes offer it; for some of them must leade them.

*The order of their Assaults.*

**B**Eing readie to assault, to giue equall honour vnto all the troupes, the Regiments hurle the Dice who shall haue the poynt, the first charge we call it: lightlie the Chiefe that commanded that quarter will aske it as his right, because his troupes are most spoyled by reason of their neere guards and approaches. Most often he hath it: being giuen him, he deuides his troupes to second one the other, according to the widenes of the breach, they respect the honor of the poynt, that the Captaines will not giue place one vnto the other more than their Colonells, but by fortune of the Dice. They need not bee so earnest for the matter, because the greatest warriours accompt the first troupe that entreth a breach in more danger, than the first troupe that must charge in their seuerall battailes. They haue reason; for I knowe it by good experience, whether they enter or retire the most of them



them are killed, if the defenders bee honest men, I  
 meane any thing valiant. They may haue two or  
 three breaches, but at euerie one they keepe the one  
 order. Before the armed men aduance to the assault,  
 they place their Musketers as neere to the breach as  
 they can, lightlie they make mounts higher than the  
 defendants: in those and in trenches before the Ar-  
 tillerie they place all their small shot. Before they giue  
 an assault, they send sundrie Officers and Souldiers  
 armed of Musket prooffe and good iudgement to dis-  
 couer the breaches: when they giue the assaults, if  
 they bee not pell mell with the defendants, their Ca-  
 noniers, flankes the breach ouer their heads, both  
 from the batterie, & with their flanking peeces, they  
 line their armed men that haue the first poynt with  
 Musketers armed of the prooffe. At these assaultes  
 both sides lightlie shoote al the vilest shot they can in-  
 uent, both to pierce Armes and to cut off Pikes, chain-  
 ned bullets, Dice of steele couered with lead: lightlie  
 they giue their assaults generall at once, I meane at all  
 their breaches & mines, if the ground serue to mine.  
 To discourage the defendants, they haue messengers  
 of credite on horsebacke, if they can passe, which  
 runne from breach to breach crying, courage the  
*Tertia de la Leige* is entered: So at the other breaches  
 the like, that *Tertias* of *Lumbardy* or *Naples*, or others  
 are entred, when there is no such matter. When  
 those that giue the first charge begin to retire or wax  
 colde, the great Officers command their seconds to  
 the assaults; finding fault with the rest, telling them,  
 it is yon fellowes must doo it: with these stratagems  
 and wordes, they make the poore Souldiers breake  
 their



their neckes at their pleasure. But to speake troth, the *Spanish* discipline is verie gratefull vnto the men of warre; for want of present places to aduaunce their valiant men of vertue according vnto their deserts, they giue them aduantages of payes, with encouraging wordes and assured promises of the first places that fall voide. If a Colonell, Captaine, or any other Officer vnder them, leese his whole Regiment or Companie in Battaile, Assault, Skirmish, or in any other seruice commaunded vnto by their superiours; although the troupe be defeated, those that returne, are sure to remaine in pay, and the Colonell or Captaine haue present Crownes to recomfort his troupe. If the Regiment or Companie be cashed, all the Officers are surelie enroulled in their owne payes they had before. A cashed Colonell, Captaine, or Officer, will neuer take baser charge than they had before, but will serue priuatlie, vntill occasion presents to aduaunce them vnto the places they had before. As they are bound to followe the warres, where they receiue their reliefes; so haue they libertie to followe whom they list, vnles they bee commanded to the contrarie: the greatest part will followe the Cornet royall, some the Generall of the Horsemen, others the high Marshall, others the Master of the Campe, as they be affected and minded. Likewise the cashed Souldiers are placed in their former payes, vnder other Colonells. None of these cashed Officers are bound vnto anie duetie, sauing fighting; I meane to guard or watch: but the most part will doo it orderlie, better than the bound men, to shewe example vnto others: perswading themselves he that excels his fellowes, is soonest aduanced.



aduanced. Their vsage hath beene such, that I meruaile all professions in *Spaine* desires not to bee Souldiers. *Charles* the fift being before *Metz* in *Lorraine*, his Armie being in miserie and extreame sicknesse, his Souldiers would openlie raile on him, especiallie his Spanissh would call him the sonne of the mad woman, with all the vile words they could deuise, yet he would not heare them, but threw Crownes amongst them, saying to his nobilitie; harken these knaues, yet let me call the worst by his name, hee will not refuse to doo any thing for mee, though it cost him his life. Also the Duke of *Alua*, when the Burghmasters of *Holland* presented a petition vnto him of the disorder of the Spaniards; amongst other foolish articles, they shewed him how they wold haue their napkins changed twice at a meale. Hee answered, you must think, al those which came with me, wer not broght vp amongst Burghers. To say troth, God helpe that man of warre, that hath all his deeds and words construed to the worst, considering what casualties there are in warres aboue all other places. Often choler attreth honest mindes, to day rich, to morrowe poore; now happie, anone vnhappy. Although their discipline in martiall actions be most famous, and worthy to bee followed of all others, notwithstanding their gouernment is so vile and tyrannous, that no people is able to abide it, vnles they be too base minded. For example, the Castilian of *Gaunt*, hauing occasion to execute 3. or 4. offenders: to terrifie the multitude, he did it openlie in the market place; by chaunce a scaffold fel downe, at the which there grew a great noise and rumor: sodainlie without more adoo, the Casti-



lian drew his sword, crying *Alere* to his Souldiers; The soldiers most saugely discharged a saleu of har-  
gubusaides on the poore people; with shot & sword they killed and hurt aboue an hundred. Complaint being made vnto the Duke, *D'alua* their Gouvernour; his answere was, he was sorie the salt was done without desert, notwithstanding hee punished no bodie: thinking it a good meanes to terrifie a mutinous popular (as he termed them). Another time, the Master of the Camps companie, *Iulian Romero*, being in garrison in the towne of *Macklen*, his *Alfere* beeing in loue with a gentlewoman, could not obtain her loue, on a May day, he and his companie armed, came vnto her fathers house, vnder the colour of Maying, tooke her away by force: her friends and kinsmen making what stirre they could to saue her, with the disorder of the *Alfere* & Souldiers, diuers were killed and hurt. Complaint being made, no man was executed, but perswasions vnto the parties to take patience, shewing them what an offence it was, to stir against a flying Ensigne of the King their Lord. The *Alfere* was banished for a few daies, notwithstanding he inioyed his loue, & his fauour with his Gouvernour in a short time. Another time, a Serieant of *Sentia Damiilla* Castilian of *Antwerpe*, rode vp and downe *Antwerpe* on a footcloth of veluet, mandilion & hose imbrodered with gold letters, the contents of the words in Spanish, *Gasador de los Flaminges*; as much as to say in English, A Scourge for the Flemings: a number complained, but none had redresse. Such is their government in all places where they command with citadels, garrisons, fortresses or forces, the least Serieant  
of



of a Band, being a naturall Spaniard, will seeme to command the greatest man of qualitie of anie other Nation, vnles he command forces himselfe. Let the forces be euer so great, although it be 40. or 50000. and of the, but 20 or 1000 Spaniards, it must be called the Spanish Armie. When they come first out of *Spaine*, either to *Italie*, *Flaunders*, or anie other places, they be the simplest *besonios* (as they terme them) that can be found of any other Nation; the most are apparelled by the Governours, before they enter the Countreies, to saue the honor of the Nation. Let them continue any time in pay, the simplest of the will compare in pride with any Captaine of other Nations; and diuers rascalls must be called, Signor of such a place, meaning the next towne or village that he was borne vnto, hauing neither land nor house of his owne. Besides the tyrannous Inquisition is maintained by that Nation, principallie in *Spaine* to bridle Princes and Nobilitie; which otherwise haue so great libertie by their ancient customes, that diuers of them owe but small subiection vnto their King: for abroad as well as in *Spaine*, they make whom they list slaves & prisoners at their pleasures, without triall of Iustice: neither shall the parties knowe, who accused them, nor what is laide to their charge, more than it is the will of the holie Inquisition. With their diuelish Inquisition, they take mens goods at their pleasure. With their Bulls, and other paltrie deuises, poysoning, murther, breaking oathes and promises, may be pardoned by the Pope. Their religion is such, where they subdue Kingdomes or Countreies, either by right, policie, or Armes, if they finde anie of great qualitie that ca-



ries a voge, to command populer or men of warre, let their seruice and deserts be neuer so great, vnles they be sure of them, in such sort to obey all those, that carie their commissions and directions, bee they neuer so basely or vilelie directed, they will be sure to make them away with poyson or murther, for iustice can take no place, I meane touching all strangers; sauing their owne Nation.

For example, the Marquis of *Marinian*, after they gaue him aduancement, *Charles* the first wrote letters to execute him, which were discovered by the Marquis. Likewise, the Duke of *Bourbon* hauing wonne the battaile of *Pavia*; fearing his greatnesse, *Charles* caused his Armie to mutine against him, with other disgraces vnderhand to vndoo him; if the Duke had not taken resolution to sacke *Rome*, to content the men of warre. Also the braue Count *Egmont* with others of his nation, for all their seruice were executed most cruellie by Duke *D'alua*; and the Marquis of *Berges* with *Mountenie* poysoned in *Spaine*, onlie to bring to passe their determination against the *Netherlanders*. Also *Marke Anthonie Colono*, whose house and himsele, followed alwaies the house of *Austria*, being Vice Roy of *Naples*, reputed and feared for the greatest Captaine in *Italie*, was sent for into *Spaine*; and before he could speake with the King, he was poysoned in his way to the Court. The last day, two or three Noble men *Porteguis*, taking Armes, made to the Sea coast, hauing discovered Sir *Francis Drakes* Fleete; the *Spanish* perceiuing their greatnes, executed one Count, and poysoned the other; although some of them were the men that sought



sought to bring them into the Countrie, and most assured them. Looke also to their proceedings with *Naples* and *Millain*, the wrongs to *Francis Fortza*, *Ferdinando* of *Aragon*, with diuers other the like actions. This discipline and gouernment doe I knowe by good experience, for I serued vnder the Ensignes of the *M. del Campo Iulian Romero* 22. moneths, & *Mondragon* 18. moneths, with the domestiques of the braue *Don Iohn de Austria* eight moneths, alwaies in action. As I said before their discipline must be good for good Chieftes makes good Souldiers.

The least of thirtie Commaunders they had alwaies amongst them, were sufficient to command 10000. Souldiers. A Campe continuallie maintained in action, is like an Vniuersitie continuallie in exercises, when famous Schollers dye, as good or better step in their places. Especially in Armies, where there be euerie day newe inuentions, stratagems of warres, change of weapons, munition, and all sort of engins newlie inuented, and corrected dailie.

Some may aske me, as I did *Philip de Comines* in reading his booke, where he speaks much to the praise of *Lewis* the xj. but nothing how he quited his Duke of *Bourgondie*: true it is, at the defeate of *Harlam*, Colonell *Morgan* and his Regiment were discharged from the Prince of *Oranges* seruice, my selfe being one: arriuing in *England*, the said Colonell with a number of others, were imployed into *Ireland*. At that instant the Prince of *Condé* was newlie escaped out of *France* into *Germanie*. I hauing nothing to do, hearing the saide Prince ment to returne into *France* with an Armie, my selfe and foure other compa-



nions, resolved to imploye our seruice with that Prince: being in *Germanie* with small purses, finding the Prince not able to march in sixe moneths, hauing no meanes to liue, wee returned for *England*, passing through *Lier* in *Brabant*, we were brought before the Master of the Campe *Iulian Romero*, who entertained mee with such courtesie, that I remained with him. Thus did I enter into the *Spaniards* warres, and doo think it no disgrace for a poore Gentleman that liues by warres, to serue any estate that is in league with his owne.

To prooue *Launtiers* more seruiceable than men at *Armes*, considering the numbers that doo duetie.

**T**He difference betwixt the men at *Armes*, companies of *Ordinances*, as they teatme them, and the *Launtiers*, called by the strangers *Light Horsemen*, by vs *Demilances*. I must confesse a companie of men at *Armes*, to bee the most honorablest priuate charge that a man may haue in the *Warres*, principallie because these charges are giuen vnto Princes, Nobilitie, or men of great qualities in the warres. To euerie seuerall Companie belongeth one *Ensigne*, one *Guydon*, and one *Cornet*; the *Ensigne* ouer the men at *Armes*, the *Guydon* ouer the *Archers*, the *Cornet* ouer the *Light Horsemen*. Considering the number of hands to come to fight, and to doo duetie, I perswade my selfe the greatest warriors thinke the *Launtiers* more profitable and more seruiceable: my reasons are these: a man at *Armes* ought to haue fiue horses, for euerie horse hee re-



ceines as much pay as a Launtier : commonlie the  
 men of Armes makes no conuoyes that belongs vn-  
 to an Armie, the most of them are men of qualitie, (as  
 we tearme men of warre) either gentle or cashed Of-  
 ficers, wherefore they are fauoured for their skoutes,  
 guards and watches. If they be cominaunded to any  
 of these dueties, out of their fiue horses, it is much if  
 they send three, commonlie one and two : halfe of  
 them keepe but foure horses, the most three, the rest  
 is loaden with baggage, perhaps lamed iades, sufficient  
 with curtesie to passe the Musters, being trimmed vp  
 with helpe of their witneses, how they were hurt in  
 seruice, and deuises. Lightlie they are not comman-  
 ded to march, vnlesse the Armie dislodges : if they  
 do, Cornets of Launtiers and Hargulatiers are com-  
 manded with them. The men of Armes neuer breake  
 their soft paces, vnlesse they charge or retire, the o-  
 thers often are commanded to great marches, to doo  
 exploytes, Causalgade, (as the strangers tearme it) be-  
 sides, they must skoute, discover, with all dueties that  
 belongs vnto an Armie, either in lodging or march,  
 and fights often, when the men of Armes see no Enc-  
 mie; when they doo fight, lightlie, it is a battaile, then  
 the Launtiers receiue and giue the first blowes. The  
 first charge being well conducted, and directed, tryes  
 the most of the fortune of a daies seruice, 100. men at  
 Armes are as chargeable as 500. Launtiers, and do not  
 the duetic, neither in fights nor guards as halfe so ma-  
 nie. Touching the barbe, (I meane the arming of  
 their horses) I thinke it to little purpose, seeing all  
 squadrons of Pikes be lined with Muskietiers or Ca-  
 liuers; the lesser of both pearceth any arming that  
 horses



horses vse to carrie. In stead of Maces the Launtiers  
 may carrie one Pistoll, the which is lighter and farre  
 more terrible, had wee thrice the force wee haue in  
 these daies. True it is, it is necessarie, for the shooke of  
 a horse to weare a little Cuisset to couer the knee, so  
 ought all the Launtiers to be. We know it by expe-  
 rience; let a horseman bee armed, the forepart of his  
 curaces of a light pistoll prooffe, his head peece the  
 like, two lames of his pouldrons the like, two or  
 three lames of his tases of the like prooffe, the rest I  
 meane his tases, cuisses, pouldrons, vambraces, and  
 gauntlets, bee also so light as you can deuise. With  
 one pistoll these kinde of arming shall be found hea-  
 uie for the most men, to carrie all day long, and too  
 heauie for the most horses to carrie tenne houres to-  
 gether, and to doo any seruice: As I said before, the  
 Launtiers are as well mounted for one horse a peece,  
 if he haue not two, vnles he be too base minded, and  
 the warres verie bare. Besides, all Launtiers receiue e-  
 uerie man his owne pay, & haue nothing to do with  
 Master, nor anie bodie, sauing his Officers, that com-  
 mands him to doo his ductie in the warres. Where-  
 fore I perswade my selfe, they maintaine these Ordi-  
 nances, as they tearme them, chieflie (as I said before)  
 to keepe the auncient customes, fearing in breaking  
 that order, diuers of their great men would grudge:  
 by reason, all or the most part of these companies be-  
 long vnto them. For example our Band of horsemen  
 Pentioners, I did accompt them the fairest Band of  
 Ordinance in *Europe* for the number, because all the  
 men at Armes are Gentlemen of qualitie: wherefore  
 I doo value this Band better, than twice as manie of  
 anie



anie other, let them be of what Nation soeuer. I may speake it by good experience, out of this Band there may be pickt 15. or 20. sufficient to answere so many at all deedes of armes, let it be chosen out of anie Armie, be it neuer so great: considering their charges in payes, expences in victuals, munition, and their liberties for duties; I mean to conuoy, guard, & to watch, so many priuate Launtiers, as this faire Band musters in al of horses, vnder their Ensign, or Guydon, would excell them; my reason is, as I said before, because euerie Launtier is a Master, and receiues his own pay.

*To prooue Hargulatiars more seruiceable than  
Spear men, tearmed by vs, Light Horsemen.*

THE difference betwixt our Northerne Speares, Light Horsemen we tearme them; and the Light Horsemen tearmed by the strangers Hargulatiars, as much to say Hargabushes or Petronels on horseback. Touching the mounting and arming of these hargulatiars, I shewed you before, the seruice of all Light horsemen, consists chieflie in marching of great marches, (Caualgades the strangers terme it) I meane, to surprise Companies a farre off in their lodgings, or marches; likewise to defeat conuoyes, & to conduct conuoyes, as much to say, direct it to spoyle necessities that come to furnish their enemies, & to conduct necessities to furnish their own campe or seruice. Also to scout and discover, to spare the armed men, I meane the Launtiers, & the other horsemen: likewise both to conduct & spoile forragers, with the like seruices. They be neuer commanded to do any exploits



on men of warre, without beeing accompanied with Launtiers, or armed Pistolers, I meane Curaces on horsebacke. Diuers march with swords without pistoll or launce, especiallie the Frenchmen. For these seruices it is necessarie to haue in armies or troupes, for euerie 500. Launtiers or armed Curaces, 100. of these kinde of light horse: from that rate to the greatest nūbers. If horsmen be directed to assaile troupes at their lodgings, either in villages, streights, or fields, where it requires too great a march for footemen to keepe companie with the horsmen, without doubt these hergulutiers are farre better than the spearmen; my reasons are these; when the horsmen approach the enemye, if it be in a village, lightly they must passe through barriers & narrow streights, bard with waggon, both of victualls, and of their men of warre, where commonlie the Enemye keepes guardes and watch. If the passage be such, either in entring a village or straight, that horsmen cannot find place to enter & to charge, these hargulutiers light on foot, & do no lesse dutie than foote hargabusiers. If the enemye be lodged either too strongly or too manie, for the assailants to do anie good on their quarter, (as ye must think, a 1000. strongly lodged in a village or straight, with good guard & order, are worth 2000. without, let them be of one valure & conduct) then the assailant will addresse an ambush perhaps, in a passage or narrow straight short of the Enemies quarter, where he will also cause all or the most of those Hergulutiers to light, then place & hide them in such sort, that 100. shot will spoile and defend ten times more than themselves, vnles the enemies bring shot to displace them,



them, if they doo, the Ambush may dislodge, if hee thinkes the partie vnequall; the which he could not, were his Hargulatiens Hargabushers without horses, being ingaged to fight. I confesse also the Hargulatiens farre better than the spearemen for this seruice; if troupes of armed curaces, launtiers, or others, chance to meete by fortune with the like enemies in a champion, the Hargulatiens vnarmed march on both sides of their squadrons, or squadron, like wings of shot about a squadron of pikes; vntill the launtiers or curaces charge, diuers of their Hargulatiens march skirmishing before the squadrons, like forelorne men after the Almaine phrase; when the squadrons charge, they flye on both sides to their fellowes. They place their armed hargulatiens behinde the squadrons; they execute more than the Launtiers, after the Launtiers break into the enemies squadrons: for the armed hargulatiens ought to be as well mounted, and armed for curace & caske, sauing their beaues, as the launtiers; the most of them, as I shewed you before carrieth a pistoll, besides his caliuier or petronell. Let it bee for what seruice Captaines can deuise, these hargulatiens are better than our sort of speare men that we tearme Light Horsmen. I perswade my selfe, that al the warriors in *Europe*, sauing our selues & the Scots will bee found to bee of my minde. I am sure the Earle of *Essex*, Generall *Norris*, the Lord *Willoughbie*, Sir *William Russell*, Sir *Richard Bingham*, with the most of all that serued against the great Captaines, I mean the Prince of *Parma* and his followers, will say and confesse as I doo. For example, the famous *Monsieur de la Noue*, commanding chiefe of the warres vnder the Prince



of *Orange* and the States in *Flaunders*, had 5. Cornets of these spearmen, all Scotts: he finding little seruice with these kinde of arming and mounting, changed them vnto Launtiers and Hergulutiers; the which afterwards prooued to bee seruiceable, and as braue bands as anie other vnder his charge: especiallie the Company of the valiant *Seaton*. True it is, braue men will shew themselves valiant with any kinde of weapons, all manner of waies: but the best sort of arming and mounting is the more profitable, & the more seruiceable. Although our two Nations (I meane English and Scottish) may compare, and in my opinion doo excell all the rest of the world in value and strength: notwithstanding, neither of both our Nations can compare with the Strangers for their mounting and arming, vnlesse we resolute to be Launtiers, Pistolers, and Hergulutiers, as I shewed before.

Our Discipline is to haue 1000. Spearmen, and some 200. Launtiers, from that rate to the greatest numbers, which ought to be 1000. Launtiers & 200. Spcaremen. Likewise, from that rate to the greatest and those 200. ought to be Hargulatiers. I knowe no reason but 2000. Launtiers, 2000. Pistolers, 1000. Hargulatiers, should not master 20000. Spearmen on horsebacke. Likewise from that rate to the lesser numbers; you must thinke the reason was that our Kings of *England* and *Scotland* fought alwaies or the most part on foote, because their whole trust was on the footmen, and that al strangers mastred them with horsemen: Assure our selues let vs keepe their discipline with horsemen, none shall master vs number to number, although they were more.



Let vs not erre in our auncient customes, although our famous Kings *Henrie* the fift, *Edward* the third, and King *Henrie* the eight, were the most worthiest warriors that our nation euer had: notwithstanding you may be assured, had they knowne the terrour of Muskets, Caliuers and Pistols, they would haue vsed the lesse Bowes, Speares and Bills; as the actions of these famous Kings shewes their Captaines to be the most expert. Likewise, we must confesse *Alexander*, *Cesar*, *Scipio*, and *Hamball*, to be the worthiest and famousst warriors that euer were; notwithstanding, assure your selfe had they knowne Artillerie, they would neuer haue battered Townes with Rammes, nor haue conquered Countries so easilie, had they been fortified as *Germanie*, *France*, and the *Low Countries*, with others, haue been since their daies. Although the ground of auncient discipline is the most worthiest and the most famous; notwithstanding, by reason of Fortifications, Stratagemes, Ingins, arming, with Munition, the discipline is greatlie altered; the which we must follow and be directed as it is now: otherwise we shall repent it too late.

*The difference betwixt Launtiers and Pistolers.*

**T**Rue it is, as *Mounsier de la Nove* saith, a Squadron of *Rutters* (meaning Pistolers) ought to beate a Squadron of *Launtiers*. It were a great follie of me, either to denie his reasons or deeds; the little experience I got was from him, and from such others as himfelfe. Touching *Mounsier de la Nove*, he



is knowne to bee one of the worthiest and famous warriors, that *Europe* bred in his daies, I do perswade my selfe, a Squadron of Pistolers ought to encounter so many Launtiers, if they should enter into the Squadrons of Launtiers, as *Monsieur de la Noue* saith. Without doubt the Pistoll discharged hard by, well charged with iudgement, murthers more than the Launce: out of a hundred pistolers, twentie nor scarce tenne at the most doo neither charge pistoll, nor enter a Squadron as they should, but commonlie and lightly alwaies they discharge their pistols, eight and five score off, and so wheele about; at which turnes the Launtiers charge them in the sides, be they well conducted, if they should enter as *Monsieur de la Noue* speaks. The Launtiers haue or ought to haue one pistoll at the least: touching their arming and mounting, they ought to be rather better than worse. The Captaines or Captaine that charges either with troupes or troupe, cares not much whether the companies breake their Launces or not, but desires them to enter resolutlie and to keepe close together. If they bee well conducted, their Leaders commaund more than halfe of them to carrie their swords or pistolles in the bridle hand, rather than faile to vse the sword and pistoll, and quit their Launces; but they will be sure to place the best of the Launtiers in the forefront. Lightlie of euerie hundred, fiftene or twentie know how to breake: being well broken, with care of the goodnes of the staffe and head, the blowe of the Launce is little lesse in valour vnto the pistoll; the charge of the Launtiers is terrible and resolute, being in carier to breake; the enemies perceiues their resolution



lution is to enter, and not to wheele about like vnto the pistolers, seldome or neuer at all shall you finde pistolers charge or enter a squadron, either horse or foot on the spurres like vnto the Launtiers; but softly lie on a trot or soft pace, perswading themselves, as it is true, their pistols giue as great blowes, without the force of the horses. Considering the resolute charge done with the might of their horses, the Launtiers are more terrible and make a farre fairer shew, either in Muster or Battaile: for example, the *Almaines*, during the time they carried Launces, carried a farre greater reputation, than they doo now being pistolers, named *Rutters*. The most Chiefes or Souldiers of account are armed at the ptoofe of the pistoll. If the Leaders commaund their troupes to spoyle horses, the Launces are more sure, for diuers pistols faile to go off; if they do, they must be charged with discretion; being ouercharged, it shakes in a mans hand, so that often it touches neither man nor horse. If the charge be too little, it pierceth nothing to speak of. True it is, being pickt and chosen, the pistolers murther more, would they do as *Mounsier de la Noue* directs them. But it hath bin seldome or neuer heard that Launtiers gaue place vnto *Rutters*; but I was often in their companie when they ranne away, three from one Launtier both in great troupes and small. True it is, the great Captaine the Admirall *Chatillion*, chose often to fight, and would haue diuers or the most of his horsemen to bee armed, with one pistoll and a good Curtilace: he had great reason, for the most of his followers on horsback were Gentlemen of qualitie, or resolute Souldiers that fought for the Religion.



Religion. Diuers of the Gentlemen were in quarrels for their houses, or for their particular reputation: but all in generall, were resolute valiant faithfull men of warre, that fought either for religion or reputation, to maintaine their wordes after the olde Romaine fashion. Being such men, no weapons comes amisse: for constancie and true valour, ouerthrowes all policie, being in Armes readie to fight without delayes. Besides, the nature of the Frenchmē is such, that they will grudge to carrie any Armes, but such as please themselves: vnto the which their Leaders were faine to agree, partlie against their wills, fearing otherwise to offend their humours, knowing it lay in them to followe whome they listed, especiallie their Realme beeing diuided into factions; beeing all vnited, their Kings were faine to hire *Switzers* and *Almaines* for their battailes on foote, I meane armed Pikes, which is the bodie of all battailes.

*To prooue Musketiers the best small shot that  
euer were inuented.*

**T**HE difference betwixt the Muskets and any other peeces that are vsed. If it bee in a battaile, howsoeuer the ground or place fallies out in Trenches, either assailing or defending Townes, Forts, or Fortresses, or in defending or assailing streights, or passages, whether it bee by night or day, in my iudgement fise hundred Muskets are better than 1000. Caliuers, or any other such shot, and are to be valued from that rate vnto the greatest numbers. My reasons are thus; the Musket spoyles horse or man thirtie  
Religion



score off, if the powder bee any thing good, and the bearer of any iudgement. If armed men giue the charge, few or any carrie Armes of the prooffe of the Musket, being deliuered within ten or twelue score. If any great troupes of horse or foote, offers to force them with multitude of smaller shot, they may discharge foure, fiue or sixe smal bullets being deliuered in volley, the which pearceth al they strike, vnles the enimie be heauilie armed, the which are not vnlesse it be some 100. of a 1000. at the most of either horse or foote. By that reckoning 100. Muskets are to bee valued vnto 200. Caliuers or more: the Caliuers may say they will discharge two shot for one, but cannot denie; but one Musket shot doth more hurt than two Caliuers shot, farre or nere & better cheape: although the Musket spend a pound of powder in 8. or 12. shot, and the other smaller shootes twentie and thirtie of a pound. Considering the wages and expences of two to one, the Musket is better cheape and farre more seruiceable. Some thinke the Musket cannot march farre in a day, or night, or continue long without rest, by reason of their weight, nor skirmish so nimble nor so often, by reason of their length, weight, and fore recoyling. Armed men are heauier loaden than the Musketers, and more comberfome in carriage: lightlye no great troupe marchest ten miles without resting, although it bee but a little at euerie stand and neere the Enemie: the Musketers are suffered to quit their weight, leauing their Muskets in their rests: the armed men will not be suffered to disarm themselves in their march, let them stand neuer so often, if they bee within fiue houres march of an En-



mie any thing equall of either horse or foote: by that reason they haue a little aduantage. Fewe Capitaines will force any great troupe of footmen to march aboue 15. miles, without resting: if the Enemy bee equall and in hazard to fight, although it be 20. miles, both armed men and Musketers will not sticke to march, if their Leaders haue any credite with them, and discretion to furnish their troupes with victualls and necessaries that belongs vnto such a march.

Touching their often discharging, nimblenes and profite, I answered before. For recoyling there is no hurt, if they be streight stocked after the *Spanish* manner. For their weight and sure shooting, the Muskets haue aduantage on all the other small shot, by reason they shoote in their rests: true it is, were they stocked crooked after the *French* manner to be discharged on the breast, fewe or none could abide their recoyling, by reason of their great charges of powder: but being discharged from the shoulder after the *Spanish* manner, with the thumbe betwixt the stocke and the face, there is neither danger nor hurt, if the shooter haue any discretion; especiallie not to overload their peeces, and take heede that the bullets ioyne close to the powder. Few seruices of importāce are executed in the field without armed mē; & where armed men will march, the Musketers are ill conducted, vnlesse they doo the like, let it bee neuer so fatre. The overthrowes of all Battailles and great fights are giuen within two miles, the most in halfe a mile: for that space, were it further, the Musketers march as their Leaders needs to wish them.

Touching light skirmishes, vnles it bee to some purpose,



purpose, none vseth them, vnles it bee rawe men or light headed, that delights to heare the peeces cracke: as I said before, the most seruice consists either to defend or assaile passages, by water, or by streights, or to assaile Townes, Forts, Fortresses, or whatsoeuer seruice you can inuent: if it be done on great troupes, the Musketiers are the terriblest shot and most profitable that euer was deuised. The *Spaniards* doo vse them most, and findes their seruice and terroure such, that I perswade my selfe shortlie, all or the most of their small shot will be Musketiers. True it is, I doo think it necessarie to haue of 1000. shot, 200. Caliners from that rate to the greater number, and such shot for this purpose, when occasion presents to make great marches (*Canalgadas* the strangers calls it) to giue *Carnisados* on troupes that are lodged a farre off, to surprise Townes, Fortresses or passages that are simple mand, and negligentlie guarded, or to lye in Ambush a farre off, to cut off conuoyes, passengers, and such seruices. These lighter shot are necessarie to march great marches with horsemen for these purposes, the which are often taken behind the horsemen for expedition of great marches, to doo executions vnlooked for.

*To prooue the Pike the most honorable weapon carried by Footmen.*

**T**He Pike is the most honorable weapon that is carried by Footmen; the Pike is the strength of all Battailles. I knowe no reason but 2000. Pikes, 1000. Musketiers, should not retire ten miles,



although it were all champion grounds, from 3000. horsemen mounted and armed, as Captaines can deuise. The Pike is the chiefeſt weapon to defend, and to enter a breach, although diuers guards nere a place aſſieged are furniſhed onlie with ſhot and ſhort weapons, as armed Holberts, Targets, & ſuch weapons, by reaſon their Trenches are narrowe and deepe to couer them from the defendants ſhot, in which trenches the Pikes haue no conuenient place to fight: notwithstanding, about their batteries, and in diuers places neere vnto theſe guards, they make large Cordigards, where they place their Enſignes in ſome and in all ſtrong guards of Pikes; meaning thereby to put their ſtrength & reſt chieflie on that weapon: wherefore the experimented *Spaniards* commands all their chiefe men on foote to carrie the Pike.

*What number of ſhort weapons there ought to be amongſt one thouſand armed men, from that rate to the greater number.*

**I** Perſwade my ſelfe there ought to be amongſt one thouſand Pikes, 200 ſhort weapons, as Holberts or Bills; but the Bills muſt bee of good ſtuffe, not like our common browne Bills, which are lightlie for the moſt part all yron, with a litle ſteele or none at all; but they ought to bee made of good yron and ſteele, with long ſtrong pikes at the leaſt of 12. inches long, armed with yron to the midds of the ſtaffe, like the Holberts: for example, like vnto thoſe which the Earle of *Leiceſter*, and Sir *William Pelham* had in the Low Countries for their guards: being made thus,



no doubt but it is a necessarie weapon to guard Ensignes in the field, Trenches or Townes, and a good weapon to execute, but no better than the Halberd. Because the Frenchmen make their Halberds with long neckt pikes, and of naughtie stuffe like our common browne bills; diuers of our Nation condemnes the halberds: but let the halberds be of good stuffe and stronglie made, after the Millaine fashion, with large heads to cut, and broad strong pikes both to cut & to thrust, then without doubt the halberd is nothing behinde the bill for all manner of seruice, & armes a souldier fairer than the bill. Both bills & halberds ought to haue corslets, with light Millain murrians; the foreparts ought to be of reasonable prooffe, I meane of the prooffe of the Caliuier, discharged 10. or 12. score of: so ought the Pikes also to haue the foreparts of their corslets of the like prooffe, 15. or 20. of enerie 100. from that rate vnto the greatest numbers. I know no reason, that 10000. armed men ought to ask aboue 200. targeters of the prooffe: those weapons are very comberfom, they are best to arme men to discouer breaches, or for the defendants; to discouer trenches, or the enimies woorkes; and for to couer shot that skirmishes in streights: their weights are such, that few men wil endure to carrie them (if they be of good prooffe) one houre, I perswade my selfe, the best arming of targeters, is to haue the corslets of reasonable prooffe, and the targets light; so the bearers may the better and nimbler assaile, and fight the longer in defending,



*To prooue Bow-men the worst shot used in  
these daies.*

**T**Ouching bow-men, I perswade my selfe 500. musketers are more seruicable than 1500. bow men; from that rate to the greater numbers in al manner of seruices my reasons are thus: among 5000 bowmen, you shall not finde 1000. good Archers, I meane to shoot strong shootes; let them be in the field 3. or 4. months, hardlie finde of 5000. scarce 500. able to make anie strong shootes. In defending or assailing anie trenches, lightly they must discover themselues to make faire shootes; where the others shot spoyle them, by reason they discover nothing of themselues vnlesse it be a little through small holes. Few or none doo anie great hurt 12. or 14. score off; they are not to be compared vnto the other shootes to line battels, or to march, either in the wings of anie battailes, or before, as we terme the from the Almaine phraze fore-lorne hope. Diuers will say, they are good to spoyle the horsmen; I doo confesse it, if the horsmen come within their shootes, and cannot charge them by reason of their trenches or guards of pikes. Lightly whē the horsmen approach within 12. score, the trumpets sound the charge; if it be on shot, that lies wher they cannot charge, they are ill conducted that leade anie great troupe of horsmen to charge trenches. Commonlie the Cornets or Guydons charge one another if there be anie of both sides: if not, few horsmen wel conducted, wil charge either trenches, or battailes of footmen, vnles they see a faire entrie, or the footmen begin



begin to shake, as good Captains wil soone perceiue. If they do charge, they will be sure to be well accompanied with smal shot, which soone terrifies bowmē, especiallie the muskettiers : besides the horsemen are all wel armed, in such sort that bowmen cannot hurt the men; let them say what they list, when the men are sure the arrowes will not pierce them, they wil be the valianter : although the horses be killed, and the masters seruice lost for that day, notwithstanding they think it better to be taken prisoner six times, than killed once: beside, the munition that belongs vnto bowmen, are not so commonly found in all places, especially arrowes : as powder is vnto the other shot. Also time and ill weather weakeneth the bowes as well as the men. In our ancient wars, our enemies vsed crosse bowes, and such shoots; few, or anie at all had the vse of long bowes as we had; wherefore none could compare with vs for shot : but God forbid we should trie our bowes with their muskets and caliuers, without the like shot to answer them. I doo not doubt but all, honorable and others, which haue serued in the Low countreyes, will say as I doo : notwithstanding some will contrarie it, although they neuer saw the true trial of any of those weapons belonging either to horse or foote; alledging antiquitie without other reasons, saying, wee carried armes before they weere borne. Little doo they thinke, how *Cesar* ended all his great actions in lesse than 12. yeares : by their reckoning none could prooue great Captaines that followed him, which began and ended in that time, as Duke *D'alua* said, the longer expeted, the more perfect. True it is, long experience requires age, age without experience



rience requires small discipline. Therefore we are deceived, to iudge men expert because they carried armes 40.yeres, and neuer in action 3.yeres, during their liues counting all together.

Some will say, what discipline could there be seen in the actions of the *Netherlanders* and *France*, counting them ciuil warres: touching the *Netherlanders*, the world doth knowe their warres dured 23.yeares, without anie peace, putting altogether not 15.mōths. The warres of *France* dured 30.yeres: true it is they had often peace, and a long time together: wherefore it cannot be compared vnto the other; notwithstanding, in these actions were imployed all the brauest Nations of *Europe*, their greatest Captains, Enginers, and Counsellors for warre.

*What fortifications are best to withstand a royall batterie; and to prooue a wet ditch better than a drie.*

Some will condemne mee for my strange names of fortifications, they ought to pardon me: for my part, I knowe no other names than are giuen by the strangers, because there are fewe or none at all in our language. If a man should call a *Casamate* a slaughter house, the multitude would thinke I speak of a place to kill biefes, and such matters; if I should call a *Caulere* a mount, diuers would aske, what to doo? to place windmills or artillerie; if I should call a *Rampier* a wall, they would thinke I lied, vnlesse it were made of lime & stone: therefore as the most languages calls *London* and *Bristow* as we do, so is it best  
for



for vs to call their inuentions as they doo : touching Muskets, Caliuers and Hargubuziers, with other things, we doo agree with their names. The best drie ditch, is to haue the ditch 100. paces broad, and fiftie foote deepe, foure Casamats on euery side of the Bulwarks, the lowest to flanke the bottome of the ditch from the one side vnto the other ; the second likewise within ten foot, with broad Casamats, that the Artillerie may be raised high behind, to beate a long the ditches, as nigh to the bottome as can be deuised ; the third & fourth Casamats likewise within tennē foote one of another, to flanke the ditch in euerie part as lowe as may be deuised ; also the fourth Casamat must flanke the Counterskarfe : in euerie part the Counterskarfe ought to be three score broad, rising from the foote to the head ; the head ought to couer the ditch & rampier as high as the fourth Casamat : you cannot bestowe too much cost on the Counterskarfe, for before the Enimie possesse the Counterskarfe, he cannot batter to take away any of the flanks : wherefore it ought to be made with all the arte that can be deuised with lime and stone, from the foote to the head, especiallie for fortie paces nere vnto the head. It were not amis, although it hath bin neuer seene before to haue mines like vautes, ouerthwart to the middes of the Counterskarfe ; which mines ought to be flanked with two lowe Casamats out of the head of the Bulwarks, likewise from Bulwarke to Bulwarke in that sort : my reason is, when the assailant lodgeth in the Counterskarfe, they must be couered with Trenches, the which wil be hardlie done by reason of these mines. The mines cannot be



hurtfull; let the Enimie finde them, they cannot lodge in them, wee knowe it by good experience : he that possesseth a mine, first hauing an entrie that cannot bee cut off, hath treble aduantage, though the mine were sodeinlie made, much more being made artificially with time and care, hauing a Casamat to flanke it. The Counterscarfe ought to haue parapets cut in them foure foote deepe, euerie trench to flanke one another, from the head to the foote of the Counterscarfe, I meane place to lodge what troupes pleaseth the defendants to guard it, with diuers places to fallie both horse and foote at their pleasures. Euerie Bulwarke ought to haue two fallies, one for horse and foote, the other a little secer fallie : the Bulwarkes ought to flank one another within tenne score; euerie Curten ought to haue two Caualers to cōmand the field within their shootes, aswell as the Counterscarfes : let all this be finished as Captaines and Ingeniers can deuise. Notwithstanding, no drie ditch can bee compared for strength vnto a wet ditch: my reason is thus, where water may be drawne vnto the ditch of the Rampier, likelic it may be drawne vnto the Counterscarfe ditch : halfe or the best part of the Fortifications is lost, when the Counterscarfe is posselt, being posselt, the assailants with their Trenches on wheelles, pusht on with strong poles with the force of men, the which may bee made of the prooffe of a field peece : with those and with wooll sackes, gabions, sand bagges, faggots, & such deuises, as they had before *Sluce*, they will soone place their batterie : after dismounting the Cauales and highest Casamats. Also they will deface the Counterscarfe, enter the



the ditch with mines in diuers places, in time make all the Counterscarfe an easie entrie in the ditch, and keepe their guards in the sides where the flankes cannot annoy them: that being done, they will sone lay batterie to the other Casamats before they batter: hauing an easie entrie into the ditch, the defendants dare not sally, by reason the assailants artillerie beates all their high flankes & parapets; in such sort, that none dares shew themselves. Let the defendants enter the ditch, the assailants will enter also; being pel mell, the casamats kils their own aswel as their enemies. Being thus (no doubt) in short time the assailants will lodge in the rampier let it be neuer so thick, what trenches within the Captaines and Engioners can deuise, vnlesse they haue new fortifications like vnto those, I named before: in time the Assailant will lodge his Batterie on the Rampiers, as they did at *Mastricht*, & in short time fight with equall hands with the defendants to their vndooing. Therefore a drie ditch cannot be compared vnto a wet. If there can bee made a wet deepe broad ditch at the foot of the counterscarfe, where the water may not be taken away, I know no reason that the defendants should loose their Counterscarfe, being well manned. If the water may bee drawne out of both the ditches of rampier and counterscarfe, yet is the wet ditches better than the drie. Fewe good Enginers giues counsaile to make a wet ditch artificiallye, without Casamates vnder water, as lowe as reason perswades them the water may be taken from them: being let out, there remaines in some trenches, water that cannot be voyded, being cleane taken away the Casamats flankes all one.



As I said before, flanks cannot be takē away, without possessing the counterscarfe, neither can a broad ditch be filde without great murders against reason, without dismounting the flanks. Some will say, the drie ditch is better, alledging that any armie may the better succour the place asseiged, and that the defendants may the better saly out. Touching the succouring of the Asseiged, it is well knowne, all Armies are victualled from hand to mouth; he that leades an armie to leuie a siege, and cannot finde a place to lodge his armie, within 3. houres march of the others, where he shalbe assured to force his enimies to fight within 10. daies, leauie his siege, or famish, conducts his troupes verie ill. None besiegeth anie place, but intrencheth himselte and troupes in such sort, that 5000. will defend trenches, against thrice their number: wherfore the succours are ill conducted to force trenches, and may fight better cheape. Touching the Sallies of the besieged, if the fortification be such, as I named before, it ought to haue in it for euerie Bulwarke a ponton, I meane a bridge ioyned close together with yron Engins, like vnto those of the Citadell of *Antwerpe*. Those Pontons are iust the breadth of the ditch, hatched fast with yron hookes vnto the Counterscarfe, made so broad, and so strong, that artillerie may passe beside horse & foote. These pontons serue a wet ditch for salying, as well as any salies that belongs vnto a drie ditch: both wet and drie, when the counterscarfe is possesst, leaseth their salying, if the Seigers be good Captaines. All Batteries ought to be guarded with strong trenches, and all quarters ought to be stronglie entrenched, as I said before; especial-  
lie,



lie, the assailants having intelligence of succours, that being furnisht, the salying of the assaged is their own confusion. It is dangerous to haue Bastiles from the rampier like vnto *Mastricht*, *Vtricht*, & other places. Some counts these bastiles bulwarkes, I thinke all bulwarkes ought to be gardall round about : others counts them spurres or raelins; whether they bee spurres, bastiles, raelins or bulwarks, they be dangerous vnles they ioyne vnto the rampier, or to be furnisht during a sledge with strong guards. Commonlie they are not guarded, vnles the enimie lodgeth against them, because the defendants perswade themselves, the Enemie dares not lodge in them, by reason they be open vnto the surteine and cauileres like the Counterscarfes. These Bastiles haue much earth. Let the Enemie enter one of them, within two houres he couers himself in the earth; nothing made with hands that can be battered, but will be made assaultable. Is there a bredth in one of them, & the enimie can beate the entry, I meane the bridge, betwixt the curten and it, their succours is cut off. Besides the defendants shall not find much ground within them, to retrench themselves against the cannon; & where the cannon plaies no defendant dare shew himselfe, some will say, these bastiles may haue counterscarfes as I named before; I doo confesse it, but they are so farre from the rampier, that neither the rampier, his Counterscarfe, nor scarce caualere can flanke; wherefore without doubt these bastiles that are not ioined vnto the rampier, are very dangerous, and not to be compared vnto the others ioyning. True it is, men, victuals and munition ought to defend Trenches against an Armie, I do



confesse it, a little Armie against a great, I meane halfe so manie. But no Fortifications made with mens hands, can be kept continuallie against a royall Armie, without succours, if it can be battered; nor against a small Armie, without men, victualls, and munition; wanting one of the three, the best Fortresse is lost, you must think the assailants hauing the field, and meanes to reenforce their troupes as they list, the losse of 100. vnto the defendants is more, than 2000. vnto the assailants. But let the defendants or assailants do their duties to the vttermost in any kind of seruices, vnlesse it pleaseth their masters or superiours to grace their deedes, their well doing will be turned to nought; and their vertues, to vices. Wherefore all men of warre ought to pray to hazard their liues in the sight of their Princes or estates, then likelie they will confesse no traffique so deare as liues, especiallie being in action with equall enemies. It is hard to please the most masters, & vnpossible to content the rude multitude: the least worne wil mooue, hauing any life being troden vppon: for mine owne part I doo confesse to be one of the least in respect of thousands, not so base but euer I carried a minde rather to be buried dead than aliue.

I speake this for the wrongs done vnto my selfe & companions for the defence of the towne of *Sluce*: true it is, those that serues many, serues no bodie; I meane, they shall finde none that will confesse to be their masters, especiallie when they should be rewarded for their seruice, but the multitude will be readie to disgrace their seruants, thinking by such meanes to pay them their debts, or at the least sufficient rewards



wards to be reconciled vnto them and pardoned for their misconstrued thoughts. Wherefore I would wish all men of warre, and they can to be in al strange Princes or estates debts, rather than they in yours: if your masters be giuen to any machiuel humours, the debts that should pay you, will hire the diuers others: are you in their debts, you are sure not to be wronged, thinking your seruice to come paid for. Although our masters the States be for the most part honest and vertuous personages, notwithstanding looke into their actions, you shall finde a number of Captaines wronged besides our selues: they are partlie to be borne withal. Sometimes great Captaines are so ambitious, that they will deface their inferiours deedes: therefore there can be no great fault in the States, nor any such, when we wrong one another: otherwise time and fortune might make inferiours Competitors with the great ones. Sometimes fortune frownes on the greatest Captaines, in such sort, that they cannot or will not performe that the world lookes they should do, then likelie had they rather burie their instruments and inferiours, rather than be touched themselves with the least disgrace. Therefore you cannot blame the poore Souldier to desire the eye of his master, when he hazardeth his life. Subiects are vassals vnto Princes and States, and not vnto the most Generalls: although I neuer knewe any, notwithstanding, it is well known ambitious Generalls wronged often their masters; being in those humors, they will be sure to wrong their inferiours, vnlesse they serue their turnes. Touching our wrongs, I impute it to no bodie but vnto our own fortunes, as the Spaniards



ards said vnto Charles the 5. *Adeunda falta la diecha, non apreniecha la diligencia.* Touching *Sluse*, I do protest by the faith of a Souldier, what I write is troth. As nigh as I can remember, we kept the Towne about 60. daies: diuers thinke it no time, because *Harlam*, *Mastricht*, and others, were kept longer; little do they thinke how those places were furnisht with all necessaries, especially, the lesser of both had in the at the least 6000. hands to fight and to work. Let vs be rightly iudged; I will proue that *Bouennene* was the furiouslyest siege that was in the Lowe Countries, since Duke *D'Aluas* arriual vntil this houre; the which began and ended in lesse than 20. daies; notwithstanding, there was more Captaines and Souldiers, spoiled by sword & bullet at that siege, thā at *Harlam*, which dured ten months. Experimented Captaines wil confesse, the furie of all breaches are tried in few houres, and the furie of artillerie preuented without sodaine attempts. We were not in *Sluse* 1600. fighting, work men, and all; we had to keepe (counting the 2. forts) aboue two miles & a halfe. It is well knowne, before we entred, the Towne lost one fort. If we shewed any valour in our entrie, let Sir *Henrie Palmer*, and his Seamen, with them of *Zealand* iudge; the danger was not so little, but of the vessels that caried vs in, 5. were taken the next tide in comming out. The third tide, Sir *Charles Blunt* offered fiftie pounds (besides the commandement his Masters and Mariners receiued at his imbarcking) to carrie vs our necessaries from Sir *William Russell*, then Lord Gouvernour of *Vlissing*, who indeed was the occasion of our entrie, resolution, and quicke dispatch; who sent with vs a good quantitie of



of victualls and munition: and to say troth, without his earnest dispatches wee had not entred; then the world knowes the Towne had been lost without blowes, as a number of others were in those Countries farre better than *Sluce*: the best sort doth know had I and my companions marchanted our liues, as traffickers doo their ware, wee had no neede to haue entred *Sluce*; for our direction was but to *Ostend*: we were battered with thirtie Cannons and eight Culuerings on *S. Jacobs* eeue: from three of the clocke in the morning vntill fiue in the after noone, they shot aboute 4000 Cannon shot. By the Dukes owne confession he neuer saw so furious a batterie in one day: we were made faultable aboute 200. and 50. paces, betwixt fiue of the clocke and seauen: we were aboute fiue times at the push of the pike for our breach, where wee spoyled the enemies in great numbers, who perceiuing our trenches within ouerthwart the breach, quited their furies: afterwards wee kept the Towne 18. daies, the Enemy being lodged in our porte, rampier, and breach, aboute 300. paces, in the which time the Enemy passed through the port sixe paces to beate our Trenches within: wee kept our Fort vntill wee were made faultable more than our Troupes could guard, vnlesse wee would quite the Towne: being mined, we countermined them, in the which wee fought hourelie for the space of 9. daies with Sword, Target and Pistols: at our breach, port, and rampier of the Towne wee fought daylie with pikes, short weapons and stones, besides our shot for the said space of 18. daies. Touching our sallies, let the Enemy testifie.



The Duke of *Parma* being entred, asked me which was *Baskervilde*, standing before him; I shewed him: who imbraced him, turning towards his Nobilitie, he said, there serues no Prince in *Europe* a brauer man. Most true it is, at one sallie he had the point with an hundred corslets of the best sort, who charged and made to runne, eight Spanish Ensignes of the *Tertia Vecho*, and hurt their Master *del Campo*. True it is, he was seconded with a number of others; but himselfe principallie knowne by prisoners, & his great plume of feathers. Also Sir *Francis Vere* marked for his red mandilion, who stood alwaies in the head of the armed men at the assaults of the Fort and Towne: being twise hurt, I and other his friends requested him to retire, he answered, he had rather be kild ten times at a breach, than once in a house. Captaine *Hart* most valiantlie swamme in and out to shewe our Generall and States our wants and daungers: the world dooth knowe what pickes there was betwixt them at that instant, such that none can denie but a full resolution was taken not to enter in by water. The world dooth knowe our Armie by land retired at midnight from *Blanckenborough* to *Ostend*: let enuie and malice speake what they list, troath may bee blamed but neuer shamed: wee were lost men but for our owne wits and resolution; our powder was al spent so farre, that we had not to maintaine halfe a daies fight; the Enemies had gotten into our Rampier so farre, that their shot flanked vs into our trenches: for 18. nights wee lay alwaies Officers and all at our breach, where wee ate our meate continuallie: we had not left vnbroken of twentic field peeces with their Artillerie, foure: wee

endu-



endured in Towne and Fort, seuentene thousand  
 foure hundred and aboue of Cannon shot. Where  
 malicious tongues speak of our assaults, I protest we  
 endured one assault in the Fort at Breaches & Mync,  
 from nine of the clocke in the morning, vntil two in  
 the afternoone, where the Braue Marquis of *Renti*  
 was hurt, the great Captaine *Mounsieur de la Mote* lost  
 his right arme, *Mounsieur de Strippeny*, Colonell of  
 the *Burgonians* slaine, with diuers Captaines and Of-  
 ficers: besides, by their own report at that assault they  
 had slaine, aboue seuen hundred & as manie hurt: we  
 had hurt and slaine at that assault aboue one hundred  
 and fiftie; where Colonell *Huntley*, Sir *Edmond Vdall*,  
 Sir *Iohn Scot*, Captaine *Ferdinando Gorge*, Master  
*Selinger*, Captaine *Nicholas Baskervilde*, with diuers  
 other Gentlemen and Officers shewed themselves  
 most valiantlie, both at that assault and at al other ser-  
 uices, during the said Siedge. Captaine *Frauncis A-*  
*lene* swamme in with Captaine *Hart* after the breach  
 was made; during his time, none shewed greater va-  
 lure. Trulie, all the *Wallons* with their Souldiers she-  
 wed themselves constant, resolute and valiant, especi-  
 allie the braue Captaines, *Messures de Medkerke* and  
*Erogier*. Wee were but foure English Bands, neere  
 two hundred strong a peece, by reason we diuided a-  
 mongst them some two hundred and fiftie Musketi-  
 ers, who through the meanes of the Gouvernour of  
*Vlissing*, came with vs from his Garrison, from *Berg-*  
*hen*, and *Ostende*. There were manie Lieftenants, En-  
 signes, & sericants, aduenturers, beside those soldiers:  
 the better halfe of our men wer slaine: for of 1600. En-  
 glish, *Wallons*, & *Flemings*, we carried not out 700.



In respect of our losses, our Captaines asked paye for the whole numbers; wherefore our masters the States and others, would not confesse our losses to be so great. From the first houre of our entrie, vntill our coming out, none came to vs but those which swam. The Duke of *Parma* himself asked me before a great number, what were our losses? I answered him with the troth as neere as I could: himselfe, and diuers other assured vs, that he lost before *Sluce* fiue and fortie Captaines besides other Chiefes, and more Souldiours than he lost at *Nuse*, *Berke*, *Graue*, and *Vendel-lo*. What wordes I spake vnto the Englishmen that followed him, my companions can witnesse. Some others (besides the Duke and my selfe) knowes, if I listed, and promise kept, I might haue had a far greater number of Pistolls, than euer I had of Angells. True it is, some Princes loue treason, but neuer like the traytours: did they loue them, they should neuer loue mee, for the least thought of such matters. Where it pleased some to speake of two Irish Greyhounds, which the Duke requested me to send vnto him; returning to *Middleborow*, where I found the Earle our General, he gaue me two faire Greihounds, commaunding me not to faile to send them vnto the Duke: and finding Master *Steeuens*, sometime seruant vnto the most noble Sir *Philip Sidney*, returning vnto the Duke, on my request he presented the dogges; for the which it pleased the Duke to send me a faire Spanish horse with a rich saddle. The saying is true, it is better for some to steale a horse than others to looke on: notwithstanding, that I gaue nothing nor receiued nothing without the consent of my Generall, it was



was enuied without more occasion. A faire horse with rich furniture is easilie discovered by day light, where bagges or rich bribes can hardlie bee seene, if the parties hath wit to couer it, the which the *Spaniard* presents often to many, vnknowne to their masters or estates, els their credites had not troubled *Europe* as it doth, nor the proceedings against them so slowlie as it is in some places. Some said also; if they had been in such dangers in *Sluce*, wherefore gaue the Duke of *Parma* such large composition vnto them? I knowe no reason but this, fixe daies before wee gaue ouer the Towne, all the Captaines and Officers met in councell: hauing seene our dangers, and some perceiving the heate of our succours, wee assigned our Articles of composition, swore all to haue them graunted vnto vs or to dye, and to burne the Towne and Castle, so escape that could through the drowned land: the copie of those Articles with other letters we sent vnto the Earle our Generall and Estates, the which came into the Enemies hands, by reason the messenger was slaine in swimming by their boates & pallisade on the riuer. This is well knowne vnto all our companions, for the Marquis of *Rentie* out of his Trench tolde it me openlie before all our guards at the breach, and that *Owen* a Welsh Gentleman had much adoo to put my foule hand in Italian to the Duke. Also wee made a sallie, where wee lost two Officers, who shewed them our resolution, the which we maintained being face to face with the Duke in our parlie, and returned once from him into the Towne, thinking he would not agree vnto some of the Articles: but his prudence or his counsell per-



swaded him to send for vs againe, and to signe them all. But I protest on the faith of a Christian, I thinke so will the rest of my companions protest the like, for my part I knowe not how wee might haue kept the Towne twelue houres with the losse of our liues had wee been all desperate, if it had pleased the Enemies to attempt vs: but most true it is, rather than take any base conditions, some & many would haue ended our liues in that place. I protest to all manner of qualities, I write not this with a meaning to condemne any particular nor generall that should haue succoured vs, nor to robbe the least defendant of his right; for I confesse my selfe the simplest Captaine of halfe a dozen that was within the Towne, three or foure of them, were they knowne & rightly iudged, are sufficient to conduct double that Garrison in any Armie in the world, and to conduct a greater troupe hauing authoritie. Some may blame mee because I tooke no care in writing this action of *Sluce* more larger, and in better order; I will doo it at large in my discourse of the Netherlanders actions, perhaps both that and a number of other matters, in better order, than some perswaded great Personages, I could doo. True it is, some are to write, some to speak, others to execute. What I want in anie of those vertues, my bloud shall witnes in others the zeale I beare towards my sacred Soueraigne and deare Countrey, if occasion presents it. In the meane time, and alwaies, I pray most heartily to the Almighty to preserue her sacred health and Royall estate to the honour of God, and confusion of her Enemies.

FINIS.



(3) 11.

# A Briefe discourse of Warre.

Written by Sir Roger Williams  
*Knight ; With his opinion concer-*  
*ning some parts of the*  
*Martiall Disci-*  
*pline.*  
*Newly perused.*



*Imprinted at London, by Thomas Orwin,*  
*dwelling in Paternoster Row, ouer a-*  
*gainst the Signe of the Checker.*  
1590.

4